/71 cont./

965 dancing and singing. About an hour before sunrise, however, all
987 the sleepers were awakened; they again took snuff immediately,
276 and once more there began a wild dance with singing until day-
[821] break. The death ceremony must be kept secret from the sun (it
[715] is likewise regarded as a male creature), the worst enemy of the moon, because otherwise it would hinder the soul's wandering. Loudly sustained, shrill, joyous cries formed the conclusion and made it manifest that the soul of the deceased had found entry
765 into the moon. Then all the warriors, sobbing loudly, formed a circle around the burned-down funeral pyre, while the /72/ brother and other relatives gathered up the charred remains of the bones from the ashes. After these had been pounded in gourd vessels by means of small stone mortars, the bone ashes were emptied into two bowls made out of the jamaru fruit, which the brother of the deceased wrapped with palm leaves and a liana binding. Thereupon he handed them to the chief, who lifted up each one in the direction of the moon and, singing, blessed it, while the men standing about uttered shrill cries. With this the end of the ceremony was reached, and the exhausted warriors could again return to their maloka in order to recover in their hammocks from
[266] the strenuous night. The brother of the deceased tied the two jamaru bowls containing the bone ashes to the rafters of the roof behind his hearth, in order to keep them for the big annual festival in memory of the dead, at which the bone ashes of their dead, mixed with banana soup, are drunk by the men (see pp.231 ff.). From now on there was no more wailing and weeping in the maloka; daily life had resumed its normal course.

76 After the death of women and of children too, as soon as they have completed the third year of life, the death ceremonies are
[822] conducted in exactly the same way. For a deceased chief, on the other hand, there is dancing around the funeral pyre for three nights, for, of course, his entrance into the moon must be particularly solemn.

2: Becher--197 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

VIII. Religion and Magic

1. The Religious Conception of the World

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According to the view of the Surára and Pakidái, the earth is a disk over which the sky arches like a bell. All power emanates from the moon -- Perimbó -- and from Poré, the lord of the moon, who is pictured as an old man with a long white beard and a tonsure painted red. Occasionally he comes down to earth, but is then invisible to human beings.

Thus, Poré and Perimbó constitute an inseparable unity that is regarded as eternal, just, and benevolent, but is also able to punish, if necessary. To it is attributed the origin of the earth and all life, and it is assumed that the events of creation followed in direct as well as in indirect fashion (442).

442. The creation myth of the Yanonámi /Yanoama/ represents an example of such indirect creations (see pp. 247/248).

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The moon, a large, open, circular maloka located in the midst of a planting and surrounded by forests, mountains, and rivers (443), is at the same time regarded as the place where

443. The picture of the surface of the moon corresponds to the open, almost circular Surára maloka (see pp. 25/27).

all the souls of human beings who were cremated after death lead a paradisiac existence under Poré. There are animals, plants, and fruits in abundance here, and no moon-dweller need ever suffer hunger and thirst.

[964]
[974]

But only with the smoke rising during the cremation can a soul -- uwexík -- (identical with cloud, smoke), which exists in the bones and never leaves the body during life, reach this paradise. The souls of the dead who are not cremated become shadows -- petanuíhi -- that must wander about restlessly.

/91 cont./

821 without food and drink, between earth, sun, and moon (444).
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444. One feels reminded here of the conception of the Homeric Greeks, who also assumed that the dead, after actual life has gone, are obliged to lead a wretched shadow-existence.

All Surára and Pakidái therefore greatly fear that after their deaths they might become such shadows. That is why, after military encounters, they make an effort to recover their fallen fellow-tribesmen, in order to cremate them. Though only the head of old persons is cremated (see p. 153), it is believed that this suffices to carry the soul up to the moon. Enemies are not cremated, however, for the shadow existence is desired for them.

821 The countless stars, which are also all inhabited by tribes, are allies of the moon (445). If a shooting star falls, it is

445. The Surára and Pakidái do not have special designations for the individual stars and constellations. There are only two general names, star -- purimá -- and big star -- purimá breu.

[192]

believed that the inhabitants of one star are visiting those of another.

The sun is of only minor importance in the religious life. It is regarded as rather weak and powerless, because it stands alone in the sky, has no strong allies, and travels around the earth-disk like a vagabond. It rules only the wandering souls of the uncremated dead and uses their shadows in order, in the protection of them, to slake its burning, unquenchable thirst on human beings, animals, and plants. In perspiration, my informants told me, one sees clearly how it draws the liquid out of bodies, and subsequently there remains for human beings and animals a feeling

[775]

Surára
Pakidái

/91 cont./

821 of thirst and weakness, while plants often wither. For this reason, and especially out of fear of the shadows, the sun's rays are regarded as dangerous. Therefore, tasks for which one must expose himself to the direct radiation of the sun, for example, forest clearing, cultivation of fields, and house construction, are preferably undertaken in cloudy or even rainy weather. In the latter case, there is even a direct /92/ connection with the moon. A large tree stands on this celestial body, in the middle of the open maloka. When Poré shakes it, the wind rises first, and after that rain falls. The aversion of the Surára and Pakidái to the merciless sun's rays of the equatorial zone has a further, matter-of-fact explanation, for in former times, as pure hunters and gatherers, they practically never came out of the eternal twilight of the primeval forest.

821 The awe of Poré and the moon is so great that the Indians 776 do not dare pray personally to this united Supreme Deity. Serras 774 /sierras/ -- peatíle -- as well as gigantic animal and plant [782] spirits -- hekurá -- (446), who live on them and are characterized [192]

446. This word is derived from hetumisse = heaven and he = head, above.

by supernatural qualities, are the mediators. The serras are well suited for this, because they are situated between the earth, on the one hand, and the moon and sun on the other. They are regarded as higher divine helpers, who, after Poré and Perimbó, are the mightiest. At the same time they are regarded as the masters of all the animal and plant spirits living on them. Their power is much greater than that of the sun because there is, of course, only one sun whereas there are innumerable serras. Their attitude toward Poré and Perimbó, however, is not always a loyal one. Usually they are on their side, to be sure, but if there is occasionally a quarrel between them, it may happen that they ally themselves with the sun for a time. The united Supreme Deity has taken precautions, however, and considered any possible

Suréra
Pakidai

821 /92 cont./
776 danger. For the fact that it has chosen the serras as dwelling
774 places for the gigantic plant and animal spirits is injurious to their power if it is directed against Poré and Perimbó. In contrast to the serras, the hekurá are steadfastly faithful followers of the united moon deities and, together with the stars, protect them against any attacks on the part of the sun and its temporary allies. Sometimes, in an altercation which the serras wage with the moon or sun, an eclipse of the moon or sun appears, because the celestial body in question wishes to conceal itself from the other, so that it will not be drawn into the dispute (447). If, for example, it becomes dark before a thunderstorm and lightning begins to flash, then the sun is very thirsty, is hiding behind the serras and asking for rain. The latter relay the request to the moon. But it does not want to comply with the sun's wish, and already there is reason for the serras and the moon to quarrel. Then when it thunders, Poré has a headache out of anger, and he finally shakes the rain tree to put an end to the quarrel.

[191]

447. The relationship of moon and sun also plays a special role in the religious and mythological ideas of various other Indian tribes. In the myth of the Yurakaré /Yuracare/, for example, it is treated in the sense of the Orpheus motif (Rodrigues, 1875, pp. 252 ff.; d'Orbigny, 1835/47, III, p. 210).

774 The hekurá are gigantic prototypes of all the species of plants and animals that live on certain serras that are taboo for human beings. These nature spirits are regarded as subordinate helpers of Poré and Perimbó. They are usually favorably disposed toward human beings, permit and facilitate hunting, gathering, and agriculture for them. The men, however, must always show their gratitude to them by prayers, and they may
774 not indiscriminately destroy animals and plants. This is also
55 related to the fact that all members of the tribe, men, women,

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

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821 /93 cont./ Thus, Poré is brought into relationship with the moon--
Perimbó -- and with the latter forms an inseparable unity (450).

[114]
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> 450. This conception, which seems rather strange and in which Josef Haekel therefore thinks he sees a contradiction (Haekel, 1959, p. 40), is, however, also confirmed for the Uitoto /Witoto/, for Preuss writes about it, among other things: "We thus have here the rare instance in which, through a combination of the god of the earth and a moon demon, a single deity has arisen, a sort of monotheism, alongside of which there are only very insignificant demons" (Preuss, 1922, p. 176). And elsewhere he states: "The fact that moon and Supreme Being here coincide may therefore have come about later, but not necessarily. Today we have them as an inseparable unity" (Preuss, 1922, p. 184).

whereas "Omaua," together with a helper, "Yoaua," lives in the western sky, where they too produce rain, in that they pour the water out of the two celestial rivers (451). In contrast to this

> 451. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

among the Surára and Pakidái it is believed that Poré shakes the rain-tree of the moon (see p. 199).

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773 Great significance is also attached to the moon by the Waiká, and, significantly enough, also in connection with the creation of human beings. This may be seen from their legend of primitive times (452), which, except for minor deviations,

> 452. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

corresponds to the one which the Surára chief Hewemão told me

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184 /93 cont./
773 (see pp. 247-248) (453). As a further parallel, the leg-birth

453. With reference to this, however, among the Waiká there is a second conception that the first human beings came to the earth in the rain (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). Hence they must have come out of the western sky where, to be sure, Omaua lives and produces rain. Zerries, however, thinks it possible that this rain is identical with the blood of the wounded moon and refers to a Uitoto myth as a parallel (Zerries, 1958b, p. 281). In this myth the monthly blood of the daughter of the organizer of the festival of the animals is seen as a fine, cold rain, which Preuss interprets as the flood in miniature, which appears with the dark of the moon; it corresponds to the menses (Preuss, 1921, pp. 113-115).

773 As a further parallel, the leg-birth
184 should be mentioned. According to the Surára and Pakidái version, the first four men and a woman came from the leg of a small bird at definite intervals (see p. 247), while, according to the one of the Waiká, the first woman came out of the pregnant leg of a man (454) (455). Both myths, however, have

454. Zerries, 1958b, p. 280.

773
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455. Conceptions of leg-births are confirmed also for other South American tribes. Thus, among the Tukuna /Tucuna/ the tribal heroes Dyoi and Epi, together with their two sisters, spring from the knees, swollen by wasp stings, of the male Nutapa (Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 122), and among the Umutina, who unfortunately no

/101 cont./

755 ground and the two "hekurá" crouched beside him as "victors," a part song by all the participants began once more. At the same time the chief stroked the head and then the body of the sick woman. Then he started to suck at her, first at her head, then on the chest, on the stomach, and on the thighs. Then he uttered shrill cries and vomited. At this moment the singing ceased and all the helpers uttered loud cries of "ah" and "oh." Thereupon Hewemão hurled invisible objects to one side, which was always accompanied by ah and oh shouts of the other men. Then a chorus was struck up anew. This part of the magic performances lasted more than two hours. After the chief had sucked stones and pieces of wood out of the body of the sick woman and hurled them away amid animated cries of ah and oh by the helpers, however, the volume of the singing increased and was followed by shrill cries which ended in a general humming. -- After that there was complete silence. The men sat down in a circle around Xanimá, and each one leaned his head against his knees, for all were visibly exhausted, especially the chief and his brother. The wives of the latter, however, had seated themselves behind them and stroked their heads and shoulders and gently tapped their backs in order to give the weary ones new strength, for during the curing process they had completely spent themselves. The sick woman, too, could now lie down again. She had her eyes closed and one could see how exhausted she was from sitting up so long. After the noise that had been going on, the stillness had a very strange effect. But after only 15 minutes one of the medicine-man helpers arose; he began dancing in a circle around the sick woman, during which he softly sang. Meanwhile, however, clouds had passed before the moon and a heavy rain set in. Hewemão then decided to break off the session and continue it at dawn. "For with a [821] darkened sky," he said, "without the co-operation of the moon, it would be impossible to free the woman from her sickness." He left behind with the moaning Xanimá, shaken with fever chills, two helpers who crouched to the right and left of her head end and hummed softly, in order that, as Hewemão told

/111 cont./

832 wearer bites on it and holds it under the nose of a girl or a woman, he gains her favor through the fragrances emanating from it. In fact, I was told that love will then be so great that the woman or the girl would follow him everywhere (547).

547. This type of love magic is reminiscent of a myth of the Aruak /Arawak/ Manao: The Aromatic Root. (Baldus, 1958, pages 32 ff.)

In order to protect themselves from this love magic, married women use two kinds of neck chains. Younger ones [824] have tied to their string of curauá fibers numerous small pieces of tajá root, and older ones, small pieces of the camarau liana (Cipó sp.) -- hif -- (see p. 83). These many pieces of root or liana then counteract the effect of the young men's single piece of root.

754 If a man is angry at a woman because she does not give him a hearing, he can avenge himself in the following manner: [824] On a rainy day he tears off a leaf of the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) and goes with it into the forest. When he reaches a matamatá tree (Eschweilera matamata Hub.) from which /112/ drops are falling, he lays the palm leaf under the tree. He leaves it there until it has rotted. Out of it comes a worm which the man later fetches and then roasts. If he throws this upon the sleeping woman, she will have no more children.

789 d) Rain magic:

•821 Although the Surára and Pakidái appreciate rain more than too strong a radiation from the sun (548), there are occasions when

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548. In contrast to this, I should like to point out that among the Taulipang, for example, there is great fear of rain (Koch-Grünberg, 1916, pp. 130/31).

/112 cont./

789 it is not needed, for example, before hunting expeditions or
[821] during a tribal migration. In this case all the men, women,
[302] and children paint their bodies with a confusion of serpentine
lines, in order by this means to command the rain to stop. If
526 this does not help, a tug of war -- toötotó -- with a thick liana
789 is arranged. This liana personifies the sucuriju (Eunectes murinus) --
[796] uaikonyá -- which, as a strong water-animal, has the power to
induce Poré to stop shaking the rain tree (see p. 199). At first
only two groups of red-painted men engage in the tug of war.
But if the rain simply will not abate, red-painted women also
take part in it. Their participation is supposed to increase the
[796] pressure on the sucuriju, for it is assumed that it is of the female
sex and thus particularly well-disposed toward women. Such a
[857] tug of war often goes on for several hours. In most cases, be-
sides adults, I also saw children who imitated it with a thin liana.

526 If it happens to rain while the sun is shining, the Surára
789 and Pakidái believe that a serious fight has broken out between
821 the moon, from which the rain comes, and the sun. Then all
the members of the tribe feel obligated to come to the aid of
their Supreme Being, the moon. They do this by again forming
two mixed groups of men and women -- one symbolically rep-
resents the population of the moon and the other that of the sun --
who throw wet earth at each other; this "battle" is called xejejó.

782 5. A Special Way of Showing Gratitude to Poré and Perimbó

In connection with the festival in memory of the dead (see
pp. 224 ff.) after the training period of the two medicine-man
helpers (see pp. 143 f.), after the curing of the sick (see pp.
211 ff.), and other magic ceremonies, the people want to thank
Poré and Perimbó (see p. 197) in a special way, outside of the
customary prayers which take place through the hekurá (see pp.
199/201). For this purpose a large calabash is filled with earth,
[824] into which, in a circle, are stuck red-painted twigs of the
imbauba tree (Cecropia palmata Wild.), which are connected

/113 cont./

526

7. Types of Sports

[578] Aside from the stick duels -- xelekuhahé --, which are carried out for reasons of jealousy (549), all other types of sports

549. I have already described these stick duels in detail (Becher, 1959, pp. 162-167).

have a religious or magical character.

[237] Noteworthy above all is the game of ball with a monkey bladder -- yarobussí. Only male members of the tribe may take part in it, and for this purpose they always put on their cotton belts. Then they form a circle and keep hitting the bladder upward with the palm of the hand; it then represents both the sun and the moon (Ill. 50).

526 171 ●821 This game of ball is very similar to that of the Uitoto /Witoto/, even with respect to the lunar and solar conceptions associated with it (550a). Moreover, it should be mentioned

550a. Preuss, 1921, pp. 123, 133-136; 1923, pp. 644 to 659.

that in a myth of the Paressi both celestial bodies are thought of as feather balls (550b). Finally, reference is to be made to the

550b. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, pp. 435/36.

Aztec popular belief in which the flying ball is likewise identified with sun and moon (551).

551. Krickeberg, 1948, p. 139.

526 Three other types of sports of the Surára and Pakidái have already been described elsewhere: petapoanhamũ, the fight

Surára
Pakidái

/113 cont./

539 chief delight was to kill small birds with his little bow and arrow. But one night, for fun, /114/ he aimed at the moon and shot off his arrow. At once an eclipse of the moon set in. Blood dripped down and poured like a flood over the entire earth (554). From this blood came all the Yanonámi, that is,

[784]
[821]

554. For this reason the Surára and Pakidái children are strictly forbidden to this day to shoot their arrows in the direction of the moon.

the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí, Xiriána, Karauaterí, Waiká, etc. (see p. 12).

The Origin of Fire

539
392 The virgin forest with its wealth of plants and fruits was already created, and human beings, as well as all kinds of animals were living upon the earth. Only fire was still lacking. Besides their vegetable food, the human inhabitants were therefore able to eat only raw meat, and at night they shivered in their hammocks. They knew, however, that the cayman (jacaretinga) had fire in its mouth. Despite all entreaties, it would not give up any of it. So people resorted to a ruse. They asked the hummingbird to fly around the cayman and make jokes. At first the cayman was unmoved and took no notice of the little bird. But finally he could not suppress his laughter any longer, whereupon fire shot out of his opened mouth. The people were very happy about it and thanked the hummingbird extravagantly.

Surára
Pakidái

/119 cont./

802 Then comes much -- pruká -- and very much -- pruká, pruka. The opposite of that, little, is called -- porkotauê. One hand is called mahõn imêk, and both hands, porokabõ imêk. The fingers -- imixõk -- are never used as an aid in counting.

802 804 The Indians named, to be sure, can determine at a glance whether a quantity has become larger or smaller, but they do not have any way of expressing it in numbers. For example, if 20 arrows are standing together and one increases or reduces the bundle by only one during the owner's absence, he will notice this change at once upon his return.

805 The day begins with the rising of the sun -- petamahujehãu -- (Surára), -- bemututuorelî -- (Pakidái) and ends with the setting ● 821 of the sun -- peimaujaśuk -- (Surára), -- betamtîte -- (Pakidái). The place where the sun rises, however, is called peiuxomoprahomoprariekohê by both tribes, and the place where the sun sets, peiuximaakuimate. The rhythm of the day is determined by the position of the sun -- penibośnxi -- (Surára), -- benibeũx -- (Pakidái), the degree of light, the temperature fluctuations, and the wind -- ibokõ -- (Surára), -- yarî -- (Pakidái). In the morning, I was told, a light wind is usually felt, at noon it is almost always calm, and in the afternoon it blows somewhat stronger.

The day is called petamhâruk, the morning benahâ, the evening -- petamahuwetehaũk --, and night -- petamatîti. There are no designations for noon and midnight, nor for year, month, and week. One speaks only of the dry season -- peuhaxtiũ -- and the rainy season -- peuõnk.

821 Besides the word for moon -- perimbõ --, there are also designations for new moon -- istorîbe -- and full moon -- perimbõabreu --, as well as for eclipse of the moon -- peauâbe -- (Surára), -- hubâri -- (Pakidái). The eclipse of the sun is called xomokã by both. There are no special names for individual stars and constellations; one merely speaks in general of stars -- 000 purimâ -- and big stars -- purimâ hreu. /The "Bibliography," pp. 120-129, is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

/232 cont./

539 This time Soao pulled out an enormous fish. Omao put it in /233/ a basket, saying that it was his wife and that Soao must not touch it. Soao did not touch her despite the fact that she was very beautiful.

One day Omao told his brother that he wished to make a wife for him and also for the other men, that he was going to the shore and that he must take good care of his sister-in-law, being very careful not to touch her.

Omao went off and after walking a great distance came to the bank of a large river. There he found a great number of beautiful butterflies. From them he decided to create a wife for his brother and women for the other men. The butterflies were very wary and fled every time that Omao approached them. Then Omao changed himself into a fly and put out some sweet bait in order to attract the prey. But all was lost because at the very moment of catching the most beautiful butterfly Omao heard a scream which he identified as one from his wife. In fact, Soao, tired of waiting for his brother and for his wife, lost patience, opened the basket which his sister-in-law was in, and attempted to cohabit with her. But she gave a tremendous scream and escaped. The butterflies became frightened and fled from the shore.

Omao, angered by this, left his brother alone on the earth and went to heaven.

THE SUN AND THE MOON

•[221] The sun is a man and the moon is also a man. The two regard each other as enemies because of the occurrence which I shall relate.

One day the moon told a man to go and look for firewood. The man went off to look for it. When he brought it, he did not please the moon, who wanted a great deal more. Again it sent him into the forest. Then the man realized that what the moon wanted was to eat him. Then the man fled. He ran to the sun in search of asylum and protection. The sun hid him. When the moon arrived in search of him, the sun said that it had not seen the man. The moon, angered, insisted and even wanted

/233 cont./

539 to search the sun's house. Then the sun burned its surface and from that came the scars which show on its face.

The moon went to the other side of the world, and, while the sun sealed its friendship with man, the moon was his irreconcilable enemy. 539 When the moon appears rose-colored, it ● 821 is because it, along with its family, is eating men. The sun also has a family, but does not eat human flesh. Sometimes the moon hides in its house in order to plan a new campaign. [532] During that time women are very much afraid and, in order to [751] protect themselves, paint a likeness of the sun on their cheeks; they also commonly paint it on large stones which they find on the path.

/234/

OINEITĬB

539 Beneath the earth there exists the world of the dwarfs, who [772] are called Oineitĭb. They live like men, but eat and speak very rapidly. They have no intestines or anus, and when they eat meat or other food, they cut it in pieces and swallow it raw, without chewing (25). They sometimes also eat women who conceal

[171] 25. See also the corresponding myth of the Yupa Indians of Venezuela (Wilbert, 1959d).

their menstruation. On one occasion the subterranean river grew so much that it acquired an enormous volume and gained so much strength that it blew out the earth beneath the ground of the rancheria in which there lived a woman who had tried to conceal her state. The houses collapsed and the inhabitants drowned, with the exception of the women, who were devoured by the dwarfs and their souls went to live forever with the guapo, who is also unable to go up to heaven and live with Omao.

Because the dwarfs have no intestines, they are always hungry and, for that reason, devour their food with much greediness. On occasion one of these dwarfs comes to earth to visit a man, but never a woman. The man cannot see his guest, but

/486 cont./

825 821 [794] Animals do not have spirits. The thunder is the voice of certain creatures who dwell in the clouds. Frequently I have heard the Guaika say: "Listen to how many there are!"

Lightning is a creature similar to a flame /llama, "flame." "llama"/, which during storms leaps to earth in order to eat trees.

"Ekoa" and "Koje" are rivers in the sky. "Omoa" is the one 796 who pours the water from these rivers over the land. The "amajini" are like human beings, but smaller, who live under the surface of the earth.

[753] "Sulilliwa" can hide himself in the settlements and cause sicknesses. "Wakaliwa" can get into the human body and cause sickness.

821 The wind is regarded as a very terrible enemy, and they believe that it is sent by an enemy. When a storm approaches, the men go out and try to turn it toward an enemy settlement, or at least they hope to be able to turn it away from their own settlement.

789 754 Sorcery and magic are practiced by most of the men. They believe that by taking a little "yopo" through the nasal passage they may have a greater influence on the spirits. There are re- [756] ligious advisers who apparently know the spirits and recommend the measures which must be taken against them.

Numbers and Measures

802 The Guaika /Waica/ have words to designate "one" and "two." Above these quantities it is necessary to say "few," "several," "many," "a great many," "all," etc. They can say two and one, or two and two, but they generally do not do this. They show exact numbers higher than two by raising their fingers. I have seen them cross the dwelling to see if a person is holding up three or four fingers in the semidarkness. /487/ I have asked for as many as 12 objects and received the exact quantity by showing them four fingers of my hand three consecutive times. They understand this, but to express the idea of 11 is quite difficult for them to understand.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 2-5. Thatching a new roof with leaves.

The Indians do not like the wind because it blows the leaves off the roof. They do not tie the leaves down, depending on age and the rain to pack them into a homogeneous layer. They sometimes throw long sticks and brush on the roof to keep the wind from blowing the leaves away, but their major defense is magic: when a strong breeze comes up, the shamans rush to the center of the village, wave their arms frantically, and shout incantations to Wadoriwä, the spirit of the wind, enjoining him to stop blowing the leaves off the roof.

342 [821] [756] [789]

The Yanomamö make another kind of shelter when they travel. It can be erected in less than a half-hour. A long front pole is selected and joined to two shorter back poles with two sticks. The roof structure thus fashioned is triangular in shape, about

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